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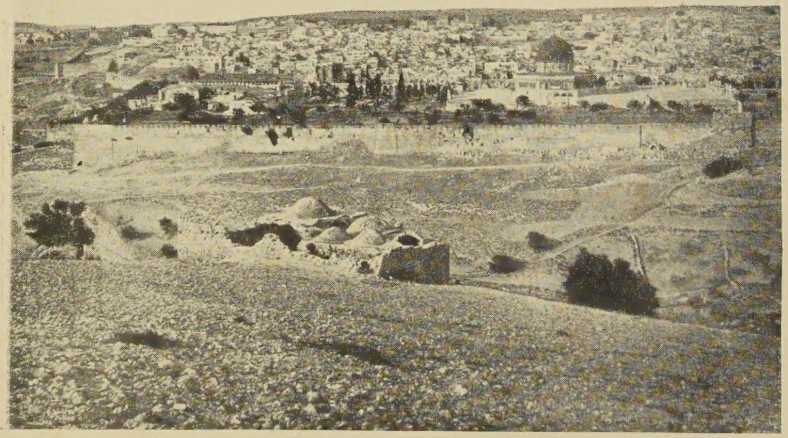

MODERN JERUSALEM

Courtesy Palestine Exploration Fund

RESEARCHES IN PALESTINE

BY

LLEWELLYN LAFAYETTE HENSON, D. D.

Pastor

Cranston Street Baptist Church

Providence, Rhode Island

With a Foreword by

LEWIS BAYLES PATON, Ph, D.

Director of the American School of Oriental Study and Research
in Palestine 1903-04

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To

MY PARENTS

who early inspired me

with a love for study

and

To

MY WIFE

whose brave devotion

made this particular

study possible

THIS BOOK IS MOST LOVINGLY INSCRIBED.

Foreword

Palestinian Archaeology is almost wholly the product of the last twenty years. The Tell el-Amarna Letters, those remarkable documents written about 1400 B. C. that have revolutionized our conceptions of the ancient Orient were not discovered until 1888. The first mound of Palestine to be explored was Tell el-Hesy in 1892, and the thorough work at Gezer, Taanach, and Megiddo has all been done since 1902. The important excavations in Jerusalem, through which the course of the ancient walls has been determined, have been undertaken since 1898. Besides this, our knowledge of ancient Palestine has been greatly enriched within the last few years by the discoveries in Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt. From 1890 onward the mounds of Nippur and of Tello in southern Babylonia have yielded thousands of tablets, which show that between 3000 and 2000 B. C. Palestine stood under the rule of the kings of Babylonia, and was exposed to the influence of its civilization. Within the last

twenty years it has become possible to translate accurately the annals of the Egyptian and Assyrian kings, which are full of information in regard to the early history, civilization, and religion of Syria.

These discoveries have all been so recent, and they have come with such bewildering rapidity that no one has yet found time to write a book giving a summary of the most important results of modern Palestine research. Information is scattered through periodicals and monographs, and is so inaccessible to the ordinary reader that he fails to realize what a revolution has been wrought in this department of knowledge. There has long been need of a small book that would give the intelligent reading public an idea of the progress of the last quarter-century in the study of the Holy Land. My friend, Mr. Henson, has undertaken this task, and, it seems to me, has achieved it with conspicuous success. I have read the manuscript of his work with great interest and profit. He shows a thorough mastery of the literature, a recognition of the fundamental problems, and an ability to decide on the basis of the evidence that is not often found in works of a popular character. His facts are accurately gathered, and his conclusions seem to me uniformly sound. I have no hesitation in recommending his little book to students of the Bible and of ancient history as a trustworthy introduction to the science of Palestinian Archaeology.

Lewis Bayles Paton

Hartford Theological Seminary.

Preface

The material set forth in this volume was originally written, in part, as a thesis for the University of Chicago, at the end of a journey of several months through Egypt and Palestine under the personal direction of Prof. Herbert L. Willett, Ph. D. The thesis was published in *Records of the Past* in February, 1906.

So many commendatory words were kindly spoken at the time and so much regret was then expressed that it was not given a wider circulation that it seems wise now to yield to the demand to send it forth in a more permanent form.

Since the publication of the thesis, however, much further work has been done in Palestine, especially at Gezer. The attempt is now made, therefore, to bring the treatise down to date and thus to make it of greater service than was possible before. It has, accordingly, been largely rewritten and considerably expanded and it is now

given to the world in such a way as it is hoped will make it most easily available and of the greatest possible use.

Various articles have appeared, it is true, which have dealt with some of the recent excavations and several books have been written which take account of the work at Jerusalem. Also P. Hugues Vincent published in 1907 in Paris, his book "Canaan d'apres l'exploration recente" which treats pretty thoroughly of the work at eight different places in Palestine, and in 1909 the British Academy published the Schweich lectures for 1908 in which under the title of "Modern Research as illustrating the Bible" Prof. Driver has set forth quite fully the results of some of the work that is herein discussed. But so far, no book has appeared in English which attempts to look even in the briefest sort of way at all the results of research in Palestine. The effort is here made to supply that need and to give in a small compass just what every student would like to know as to the real service which research in Palestine has rendered in understanding the Bible. With profound gratitude, therefore, for the kind reception which was given the thesis and with an earnest prayer that the book may be of greater worth, it is now sent forth on its mission of service.

Acknowledgement is hereby most gratefully made of extended use of the *Quarterly Reports* of the Palestine Exploration Fund and of the various books and articles which are noted in the appended bibliography.

L. L. H.

Providence, July 1910.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Thanks to the man with the pick and the spade, the ancient civilizations of the East are becoming better and better known to the scholar of to-day. A hundred years ago, the cities of antiquity were hidden away beneath the sands of time, and no man in all the world could read their languages or depict their history. But now much has been discovered in Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt and Palestine, that is of inestimable value to the archæologist, the philologist, the historian and the student of the Word of God. "Those distant oriental countries which formed the significant scene and back-ground of God's dealings with Israel, as a nation," are giving up the secrets of their life and the records of their doings, and their "priceless treasures of the past" are now lending a helpful hand in the interpretation of the Old and New Testaments. We are able to study sacred history and prophecy "in the clear light of contemporaneous evidence" and as a result of what has already been found, the Bible has become in many ways a new book.* Difficulties once regarded as insurmountable have vanished. The light

*Prof. Sayce says, "we know almost as much, in fact, about the Babylonia of the age of Abraham as we do about the Assyria of the age of Isaiah, or the Greece of the age of Pericles."

having been turned on, many a dark and obscure passage has blossomed into beauty. Destructive critics have frequently been put to rout, honest skeptics have had their doubts swept away, and devoted Christians have rejoiced in the strong confirmation which science has furnished their faith. In the Providence of God, let us say, and in the very nick of time, as it seems, when the keenest criticism is waging its fiercest battles against the strongholds of the faith, these silent witnesses from the past have arisen from the dust where for ages they have slept, only waiting their day of opportunity, and now they bear testimony to the trustworthiness of the men of God who were moved to write the Holy Scriptures. Verily, "the very stones have cried out."

Not only are the students and scholars of the world greatly delighted at what has been found but the public at large is coming to be interested in what is being dug up. This is plainly seen from the Babel and Bible incident. On Jan. 13, 1902, Prof. Friederich Delitzsch delivered his now celebrated lecture, "in the august presence of the Kaiser and the Court." Such was the interest thus aroused that voluminous replies, some running even to a ninth edition, have already formed a distinct literature upon the subject. This is true for two reasons. The splendid civilization of those ancient days has been unearthed showing what advancement the world had made, even at that remote period. When one sees the actual correspondence of a great business firm, or the

letter of a wife to her absent husband, telling him that the children are well, he is able at once to understand that those people had gone a long way in what we call modern progress. And when we understand that the ruins of Cuthah have been definitely located in the mound of Tell Ibrahim, a little east of the road from Bagdad to Babylon, and half way between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and that a tablet found there expressly states that the local deity was a god called Nergal, we have not only a sidelight on the transportation by Sargon of men from Babylonia, Cuthah and other places to the homes of the exiled Hebrews in Samaria, in accordance with his regular policy, but we also have evidence from an outside source of the exact statement of 2 Kings 17:30, a sort of confirmation, for which as Dr. Delitzsch says, we ought to be truly grateful.

Naturally one turns to Palestine, the home of Israel, with the hope of finding there, more than anywhere else, that which will be of help in understanding the Bible. This hope, however, has not as yet been fully realized.*

The reason for this is not far to seek. The land has always been the Holy Land and the city has been the Sacred City, at least to the adherents of three of the world's greatest religions, Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism. Christians

*Indeed, as Benzinger says, "Palestine research is but a child of the century just closed, the systematic exploration of the land in all its aspects beginning, properly speaking, with the foundation of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in the year 1865," although Robinson, Tobler and others had done a great deal before that time.

have gone to Jerusalem, from the beginning, as to a shrine. The fact that they could pray on sacred soil was, they believed, meritorious, and their doing so brought to the fortunate many indulgences. Their whole purpose in going was purely religious, as with the pilgrim of to-day. They were not there for scientific investigation, but to find the places where sacred events transpired. This necessarily caused the rise of traditions innumerable, for the monks, urged on by the demands of the pilgrims, were continually finding new holy spots, with the result that, as the years went by, the number was greatly increased. Tradition, therefore, is all upon which many so-called sacred places of to-day can rely for proof of their identity. If these traditions were unbroken and if they dated from the beginning, it would not be so bad, for tradition is often good evidence. But in this instance, many of the traditions were manufactured and were of very late origin as well. Besides, there were, so far as we are able to discover, no traditions for the first few centuries of the Christian Era. The early Christians were looking not so much for the Jerusalem that now is, as for the Jerusalem that is to come. They cared not so much for the place where Jesus was, as for the place where he will be, when he returns to earth. Not until after the days of the persecutions did they begin to esteem sacred the places connected with the life of our Lord. Thus there is a gap of nearly three centuries between the rise of the oldest tradition and the days in which

Jesus tabernacled in the flesh. This fact alone renders almost valueless many of the traditions that have to do with the sacred places of Palestine. And what is more, the late traditions have so covered the land with their web of sanctity, that it has been very difficult indeed to dig through them sufficiently even for scientific investigation. It has been a battle royal, this struggle against tradition, and a battle not yet finished, but necessary to be fought, that research and exploration may have a free hand in presenting to the world what the land may possess that will throw light upon the Book.

Another reason for the comparative paucity of results, is the fact that, owing to the fanaticism of the people and the attitude of the government, permission to explore was for a long time hard to obtain. And even when firmans or permits were granted, they were usually for but a short period, with no certainty whatsoever as to their renewal, to complete any work that had been begun, but that remained unfinished. It is only during the last few years that the willingness of the government has made it possible for much work to be done. Prior to that time, what was found was usually run upon, as it were, by accident, or was discovered by the indefatigable watchfulness of men, who, despite the difficulties, were determined to do all in their power to see everything that would help to understand the ancient civilization. As an illustration of the accidental find, we have but to remember the Siloam

inscription, which, after the tunnel whose construction it describes had been at least partially investigated by many great explorers and students, "revealed its treasure to a runaway schoolboy." The story goes that when the boy's teacher, Dr. Schick, was in the act of administering a well-earned punishment, even while his hand and the rod were uplifted, the boy, in sheer desperation to find something that would mitigate the penalty, chanced to mention what he had seen, whereupon the good archæological school master left the birch in the air and rushed at once to see this most remarkable find. Whether this story is actually true or not, or however much it may have grown in the telling, it illustrates the great assiduity with which Dr. Schick and many other men have labored, and it shows the great debt which the world owes them to-day.

Still a third reason is to be noted in the fact that Jerusalem has so often been destroyed. To say nothing of earthquakes, of which there have been several, George Adam Smith enumerates about forty different sieges, occupations and devastations which the Holy City has had to endure.* Following many of these destructions were also many attempts to rebuild and restore that which had been so ruthlessly destroyed. It is said that no less than eight different Jerusalems have been built, each upon the ruins of all that preceded, so

*The Romans not only destroyed the city, but they also tried to wipe every evidence of its former location from the face of the earth, "even sowing the site with salt."

that the original city was, because of all this, in some places, at least, more than 100 feet below the streets of to-day.* To go down, therefore, to the level of the first Jerusalem would be to undermine the buildings of the present Jerusalem, a thing manifestly impossible, not to mention the expense it would involve, if permission to do such a thing could be obtained.

Two other reasons were given in an address delivered some years ago, in Jerusalem, by Canon Tristram. He said that the difference between the results obtained by excavations in Palestine and those made in other places, may be accounted for by the fact that Egypt used granite and Assyria used burnt clay, both of which were practically imperishable, while Palestine used soft, friable limestone or wood, both of which are exceptionally destructible. Also, that in Egypt, the dry atmosphere and the equally dry and preserving sand have kept in a wonderful way for thousands of years, much of the splendid work of the past, while the alternate cold of the winter and the almost unbearable heat of the summer, in Palestine, have had the opposite effect.

Now if we add to these facts the further fact,

*Dr. Merrill tells us that the ancient city was, at the Jaffa Gate, from 10 to 15 ft. below the present city. At the Damascus Gate, he says it was 25 ft. below the surface of to-day, while at the southeast corner of the Temple area, there is an accumulation of 70 ft., at the southwest corner, 90 ft., and at the northeast corner, 125 ft. of rubbish. Petrie found that at Lachish, the depth of the debris increased at the rate of 5 ft. per century. That rate would easily account for the great depth to which ancient Jerusalem has been buried.

that the Israelites were not a people given to art, in any large sense of the word, we are forced to admit, not only that such splendid finds as are continually brought to light in Egypt and Babylonia, have not yet been made in Palestine, but what is more, we can feel pretty sure that such royal tombs and magnificent temples and "ostentatious inscriptions" as those countries furnish, will never be found in the vicinity of Jerusalem.

But, while all this is true, let no one imagine that nothing of interest has been found in the Holy Land. Comparatively speaking, we may say but little has been discovered. But if we think of what has been accomplished, without reference to other countries, we shall realize that a great deal has been unearthed from which much information has been obtained. We are richer by far in Biblical knowledge, because of the work of Robinson, Tobler, Conder, Wilson, Warren, Schick, Petrie, Bliss, Dickie, Macalister, Schumacher, Sellin, Lyon, Merrill, Masterman and others, and from the results of recent excavations at Gezer, Taanach, Megiddo, Samaria and Jericho, we may confidently expect in the near future further additions of great value perhaps, to our present stock of knowledge. Macalister insists that "Palestine is not archæologically a poverty stricken country."

ANCIENT JERUSALEM

Courtesy Palestine Exploration Fund

CHAPTER II

Jerusalem

Many questions of interest and importance, in connection with Jerusalem itself, have been presented to the archaeologist for solution.* And while some of these seem to have been settled, others still claim the attention of those who seek the truth. One of these questions is the exact location of the ancient city.

The first mention of Jerusalem of which we have any record is in connection with Melchizedek, King of Salem, if we adopt the view which makes the Salem of Genesis 14 : 18 identical with that of Psalm 76 : 2, and therefore, the same as Jerusalem. Thus we see that at the time when Abraham had his home in Hebron, Jerusalem was already in existence. Indeed, it is now known that Jerusalem existed prior to that time. It is not definitely known, however, who her earlier inhabitants were. Sayce says they were Hittites, but Smith claims that almost all we know about them points

*It is claimed that the controversies "topical, textual and historical" that relate to Jerusalem have been "more numerous and more keenly debated" than have those in relation to any other site in the world.

to their Semitic origin. But whoever they were, they themselves were not the original inhabitants, for about 2500 B. C. they succeeded a prehistoric race of the Stone Age who, if they did not occupy the very site of Jerusalem, certainly lived in that immediate neighborhood.

The next glimpse of that ancient city which has as yet come to light is seen on seven or eight tablets found at Tell el-Amarna, letters from Abd-Khiba, chief of Jerusalem. These are among the letters which Amenophis III and Amenophis IV, kings of Egypt, received about 1400 B. C. from the petty kings in Palestine, Phœnicia and Syria and from rulers in various places, some of them even across the Euphrates. It seems from this correspondence that while Jerusalem was an important center and at the head of considerable territory, she was at the same time, subject to the ruler of Egypt and together with "neighboring countries formed an Egyptian province." Her feudatory chief acknowledges that he owes his position to the good will of the king and he begs for a stronger garrison with which to protect his possessions from hostile invasion.*

Still, nothing is learned from these letters that will tell us just what ground the city covered.

No more does Jerusalem appear in history

*It has been proposed by Dr. Zimmern and is now maintained by Col. Conder in his new book "The City of Jerusalem" that the Habiri referred to in this correspondence as troubling and threatening Jerusalem were none other than the Hebrews themselves. Driver says, however, that the Habiri and the Hebrews "cannot be identical" but that "the Hebrews may have been a branch of them."

until the time of the conquest when she is seen as the strong city of the Jebusites, too strong to be taken by Israel but remaining secure in her fastness as did Gezer and other places until David, bold, brave warrior that he was, succeeded in capturing that important and hitherto impregnable stronghold. 2 Sam. 5 : 7; 1 Chron. 11 : 5.

This fortress was only one of a line of such positions stretching from Gezer on the west to Jerusalem on the east, all of which were inhabited by the Amorites or Canaanites, "general terms for the Semitic populations which preceded Israel in Palestine". The inhabitants of this particular fortress were called Jebusites, a name appearing in the Old Testament but not known in other literature.

The tribes which held this entire line of fortresses seem to have given great trouble to both Israel in the north and Judah in the south, even during the period of the Judges, and there was, it is thought, for a time, at least, a sort of joint occupancy of Jerusalem by the Jebusites and their conquerors.*

At last, however, David appears. He had already been King at Hebron and now about the time that his reign over all Israel began, he succeeded in capturing Jerusalem.†

When he undertook the task, the Jebusites

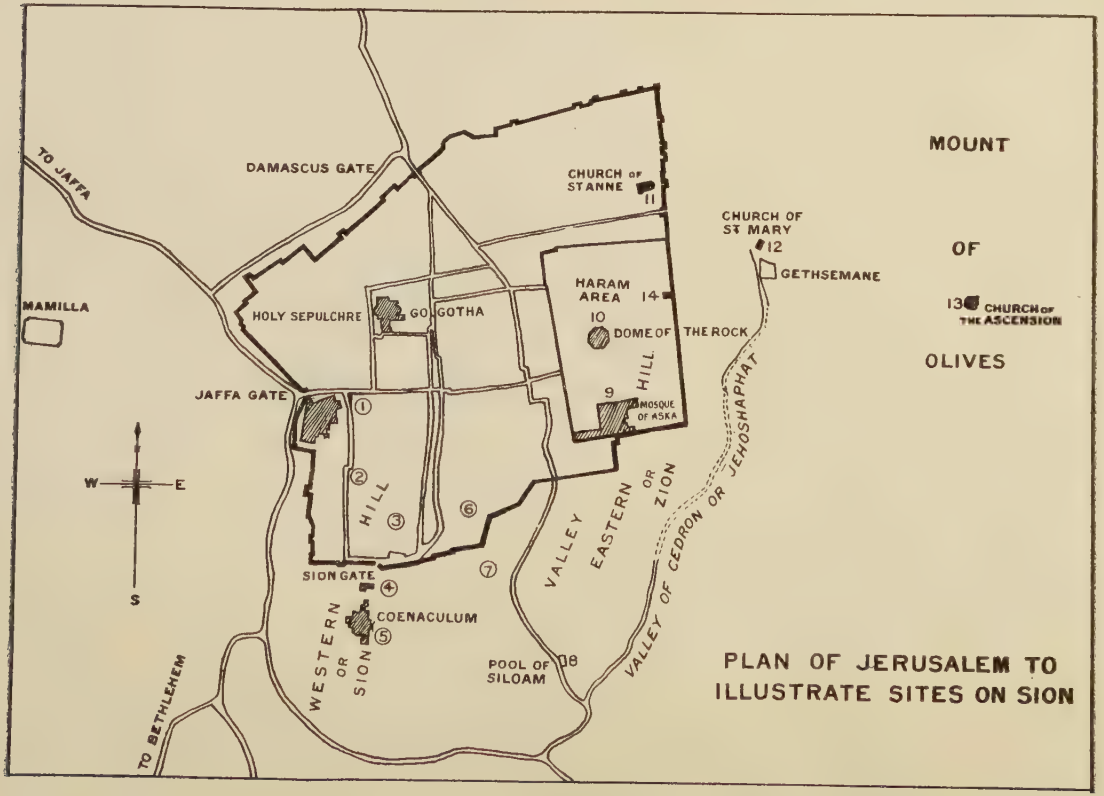
*Judges 1 : 8; 1 : 21; Josh. 15 : 63.

†Some scholars hold that it was just before this enlargement of his power and the renewed hostilty of the Philistines and some say that it followed both of these events.

with feelings of security taunted him with his supposed inability to dislodge them. Still, whatever may be the final verdict of text criticism as to the real record of 2 Sam. 5 : 6 and 8, he succeeded in capturing their fortress. This fortress which up to this time had been called Zion, David now made his place of residence and the capital of his united Kingdom, and named it the City of David. He then brought the ark of God to his new capital and Jerusalem became not only the military and political, but the religious center of the nation.

But the question still remains, "exactly where was that ancient stronghold?" Until the last few years, at least from the time of Constantine and possibly from the time of Josephus, it has been thought by all that the City of David was on the western hill of the present Jerusalem.* But forty years ago, or more, the theory was advanced by Fergusson and others, that down to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the name Mount Zion was applied, not to the western hill of the present city, but to the northern part of the eastern hill, that on which the Temple stood and which has always been known as Mount Moriah. This new view, with the change of Zion from the northern to the southern part of the hill, has been vigorously defended for thirty years or more by Birch and others, and as vigorously attacked by

*Paton says, "in not one passage does Josephus put the City of David elsewhere" than on the eastern hill.


TO JAFFA
DAMASCUS GATE
CHURCH OF STANNE
11
CHURCH OF ST MARY
12
GETHSEMANE
MOUNT
OF
OLIVES
13 CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION
MAMILLA
HOLY SEPULCHRE
GOLGOTHA
HARAM AREA
14
10
DOME OF THE ROCK
JAFFA GATE
9
MOSQUE OF ASKA
HILL
VALLEY EASTERN OR ZION
VALLEY OF CEDRON OR JEHOSHAPHAT
W
E
S
SION GATE
COENACULUM
WESTERN OR SION
POOL OF SILOAM
TO BETHLEHEM
PLAN OF JERUSALEM TO ILLUSTRATE SITES ON SION

Explanation of Numbers

1. The Tower of David.
2. The Convent of St. James.
3. The House of Annas.
4. The House of Caiaphas.
5. The Church of St. Mary of Sion.
6. Probable Site of St. Sophia and Prætorium of Pilate.
7. The Cave of St. Peter.
8. The Pool of Siloam.
9. The Mosque of Aksa.
10. The Dome of the Rock.
11. Church of St. Anne.
    Probable Site of the Church of the Birth of St. Mary.
12. The Tomb of St. Mary.
13. The Church of the Ascension.
14. The Golden Gate.

those who hold tenaciously to the traditional view. The result is that now it is pretty generally conceded that the stronghold of the Jebusites, later known as the City of David, was on the southern part of the eastern hill, and therefore that the name Zion does not belong to the western hill or the southwestern hill as was held for centuries, but to the eastern hill of Jerusalem. In other words, the names Zion and Moriah are but different names for parts of the same eastern hill, upon which stood the Temple as well as the City of David, and the palaces of David and Solomon.

This eastern hill is one of the two long narrow tongues of land that run down from the plateau on the north and that furnish the location for the Jerusalem of to-day. It has the deep and precipitous valley of the Kedron on the east, and the Tyropœon valley on the west, and it comes to a point at the south, where these two valleys join, just below the Pool of Siloam. The hill is 108 feet lower than the western hill, and was separated from it by the Tyropœon valley, which was itself 45 feet lower than the present surface of the ground in that valley at the south-west angle of the Temple area. Three transverse valleys crossed this hill originally, thus giving four different elevations. That farthest north was outside the city. Next, towards the south, was Bezetha. Then came the summit known as Moriah where the Temple stood and where the so-called Mosque of Omar now stands. South of Moriah was Ophel, and still further to the south, on the extreme southern end of the hill,

was the City of David.*

If we examine some of the arguments advanced by those who have been called the Ophelites, we find that the City of David is called in the Bible by three other names as well. In 1 Kings 8 : 1 and 2 Chron. 5 : 2 we note that the City of David is called Zion. In 2 Sam. 5: 9 and 1 Chron. 11: 7 the Stronghold is its name and in 2 Sam. 5 : 7 and in 1 Chron. 11 : 5 it is called the Stronghold of Zion. Now if things which are equal to the same thing are also equal to each other, it must be admitted that Zion, the Stronghold, and the Stronghold of Zion are equal to each other, and that each is the same as the City of David. This is what Birch has called the A. B. C. of Jerusalem topography, and it certainly shows that if one of these names can be located, then we shall know the situation of all. The topographers now agree that the Temple stood somewhere within the limits of the great area known to-day as the Haram ; that is, that the Temple was, without question, on the eastern hill. But the question remains, was that hill or any part of that hill called the City of

*George Adam Smith in his recent book claims that Zion and Ophel are interchangeable terms and occupied either part or all of the eastern hill south of the Temple area. Each of these names means, he says, "Mound", or "Knoll", so that strictly speaking, the City of David would seem to be on the northern part of the southern end of the eastern hill. This mound was later removed by the Hasmoneans and Smith doubts the existence of the third trench which Guthe and others think crossed the hill just north of the Virgin's Spring. The name Ophel is popularly used now to designate the whole of the eastern hill south of the Haram or Temple area, but Merrill affirms that this use is an incorrect one. He says Ophel was a tower which with the ground about it occupied less than three acres of the nine to thirteen acres south of the Temple area,

David? It seems from the following passages that the City of David or Zion was south of the Temple, on the southern part of the eastern hill. The Temple was built, as we know, on the threshing-floor of Araunah, 2 Sam. 24 : 24 f. But, in going to that threshing-floor, David "went up" from his place of abode, 2 Sam. 24 : 18 f, 1 Chron. 21 : 18 f. Likewise, Solomon, in taking the ark from the City of David, which was Zion, brought it "up" to the Temple, 1 Kings 8 : 1, 4. Again, to go from the City of David to the house which Solomon built for Pharaoh's daughter, one had to go "up", 1 Kings 9 : 24, and to go from that house to the Temple he had still to go "up", 1 Kings 10 : 5, if that is the correct translation. These passages seem to prove indisputably that the Temple was on higher ground then the City of David or Zion. If the topography be examined, even to-day, with these facts in mind, the conclusion is forced upon us, that the City of David could not have been on the western hill, which is much higher than the eastern, but that it was south of the Temple, on the eastern hill.

There is also another line of argument which reaches the same conclusion. In 2 Chron. 33 : 14, we learn that Manasseh "built an outer wall to the City of David on the west side of Gihon in the Valley" and with it "compassed Ophel about." If we agree that Gihon is the present Virgin's Fountain, which is generally admitted,* its situa-

*Merrill denies it, still holding to the traditional view which places Gihon to the west of the city.

tion at the eastern foot of the hill of Ophel, in the edge of the Valley of the Kedron, seems to make, in view of this passage, the location of the City of David on the eastern hill a necessity, for that wall would mark its boundary; and by comparing 2 Chron. 32 : 4, 2 Chron. 32 : 30 and 2 Kings 20 : 20, we have further confirmation of this view. For, as Bliss has pointed out, that conduit is probably the rock-hewn tunnel, leading from the Virgin's Fountain to the Pool of Siloam, which is west of the southern end of the eastern hill. This same view, it is claimed, is confirmed by Neh. 3 : 15f. and Neh. 12 : 37, which passages seem to indicate that "the City of David was approached by a flight of steps from a gate in the vicinity of Siloam." These passages, it is thought, place the house and the sepulchre of David, as well as the stairs of the City of David, between Siloam and the Temple, that is, on the hill known as Ophel. As early as 1877, Birch said, that by excavating, that gate and those steps ought to be found in the neighborhood of Siloam, and in 1894, Bliss unearthed what he believes to be their remains.

By way of confirmation, a few other points on which the Ophelites rely may also be mentioned. The stronghold of the Jebusites and the City of David, as well, would probably be located near a natural water supply. But the western hill has no such supply to-day, and there is no evidence that it ever did have.* The Virgin's Well or Gihon,

*There are reservoirs and cisterns, it is true, but they are of later date and they are not so numerous on the south-west hill as in other parts of the city. Conder maintains that there was in early days a spring called "The Spring of the Monster" on the west side of the city.

in the Kedron valley at the foot of Ophel, is the only fountain in that immediate vicinity. If it be objected that that spring was outside the city, it must be remembered that an ancient underground passage more than 1700 ft. in length, and referred to above, has been found, by which the water was brought inside the city, and out of reach of any besieger. This tunnel which it is believed was made by Hezekiah, 2 Kings 20:20, runs from the Virgin's Spring through the rock under Ophel to the Pool of Siloam and through it to-day, as it has for ages, the water of the spring intermittently flows.

From this tunnel, about fifty feet from the spring, "a shaft runs straight up through the rock forty-four feet." This shaft is reached by a steep passage from the surface of Ophel which made it possible for those inside the wall of the stronghold to secure water from the spring. The shaft and that part of the tunnel between it and the spring some claim dated from as early a period as Solomon's or David's time and it may be from the time of the Jebusites themselves.

Another channel, Isa. 7:3, thought to be still older, runs from the spring in a southerly direction along the edge of the valley toward the lower Pool of Siloam. This has been actually traced for a distance of 176 ft. and is believed to be the upper end of the same aqueduct the lower end of which was found some years ago running from the Lower Pool toward the Spring. It was to stop the flow of the water down this channel that

Hezekiah made the new tunnel under the hill, 2 Chron. 32 : 4, 30.

Besides, the eastern hill, although lower than the western, could be more easily and more strongly fortified than the western hill, because of the fact that Ophel, where the fort was, commanded the whole of the southern end of the eastern hill and because a small valley ran across the hill, if Guthe and others are correct, north of the City of David, from the Kedron valley almost to the Tyropœon. Thus the southern part of the hill was naturally a sort of triangular mound, a stronghold within itself, and it readily furnished just the place the Jebusites needed for their citadel. David was not the man to abandon such a splendid location as that. It is also claimed, from 2 Kings 18 : 17f, that the Assyrian officers stood by "the conduit of the upper pool" because it was near the king's house. Once more, it is said that Ezek. 43:7ff shows that the Temple was defiled because of the nearness of the bodies of the kings, which, as we know, were buried in the City of David.

Now, if due consideration be given to all these arguments, it seems that their combined force is sufficient to establish the fact, that the City of David was on the southern part of the eastern hill, and that Zion, the Stronghold and the Stronghold of Zion, are but other names for this same City of David. It is true that Conder has fought this view with vigor.* Warren, in 1871, wrote "the principal difficulty I find is that

*He places that Stronghold on the south-west hill.

in the book of Nehemiah, the City of David, the house of David, and the sepulchre of David, all appear to be on the south-east side of the hill of Ophel, near the Virgin's Fountain." Yet, in 1885, he said, "it does not seem to me to accord with the other accounts;" and again, "such a position for Zion appears, at first sight, to be out of the question." On the other hand, Robertson Smith says, "a third view places the City of David on the southern part of the Temple hill, and this opinion is not only confirmed by the oldest post-biblical traditions, but is the only view that does justice to the language of the Old Testament." Wilson says, "this passage (Neh. 3: 16), when taken with the context, seems in itself quite sufficient to set at rest the question of the position (on Ophel) of the City of David, of the sepulchres of the kings and consequently of Zion, all which could not be mentioned after Siloah, if placed where modern tradition has located them." And Sayce, as early as 1884, wrote "the key to the whole position is the fact that the south-east hill, the so-called Ophel, represents Zion, the City of David . . . It is no longer possible to deny it." Thus we have pretty general agreement as to the correctness of the new view, that here on the southern end of the eastern hill was the Jebusite stronghold which David captured and occupied, here was the Millo, whatever that was, and here David built his own home and pitched the tent for the Ark.

Merrill, it is true, in his recent book, "Ancient

Jerusalem," argues at length for the correctness of the traditional view. Taking the siege of Titus as his starting point, he has "worked backwards as far as it has seemed possible to go." He says that "Millo was in the City of David and that fort, castle, stronghold, City of David, Zion, Millo, all refer to one and the same thing, to one and the same place," and that place he locates on the south-west hill.

Although Dr. Merrill lived in Jerusalem for sixteen years and although he was a close observer and an indefatigable worker, the weight of the scholarship of to-day seems to be against his conclusion.

But although the original Zion was located on the southern part of the eastern hill, and was equivalent, at first, to the City of David, it is agreed that later it came to have a much wider significance. The City of David, it is claimed, came to be applied to the whole of the eastern hill, but never, according to most writers, to more than that, while Zion came to include, first the whole of the eastern hill and afterwards, poetically at least, the entire city of Jerusalem and the people themselves, for, probably as early as the time of Solomon, the western hill as well as the eastern was, at least, partly occupied. Mount Zion, at first, and strictly speaking, was, therefore, simply that part of the eastern hill on which Zion, the stronghold of the Jebusites, afterward called the City of David, stood, but later, as is plainly shown by 1 Macc.

4 : 37f and 7 : 33, it came to mean the entire hill, on which the Temple stood.* Likewise while Wilson claims that many passages, as Isa. 30:19, Jer. 26:18, show Zion to be only a part of Jerusalem, certainly there are many others which show the two terms to be interchangeable, Psa. 126:1 and 146 : 10. Such continued to be the meaning of Zion until after the apocryphal books were written, for there too, Zion is identical with the Temple hill. But sometime after that date, and before the visit of the Bordeaux pilgrim, in 333 A. D., the name was transferred, or narrowed we may say, to the western hill alone, and from that day on, through the centuries, almost to the present time, it has meant the same western hill. It was only during the latter years of the last century, that scholars began to contend that Zion was originally the name of the eastern hill, a claim now accepted by most of the archæological students of the world.

*Smith, however, is inclined to deny that the name, City of David, ever meant more than the original Jebusite citadel which he also says ought to be called "David's-Burgh" instead of "City of David." He also says that in David's day there were doubtless some suburbs extending somewhat up the Kedron valley and still more on the eastern side of the western hill. The very necessities of the case from the enlarged population would make this seem probable. The same was even more certainly true during the reign of Solomon and some writers believe that the wall which Solomon built, 1 Kings 3 : 1, included part, if not all, of the southern part of the western hill. This latter, Smith believes is extremely uncertain, but he says we may confidently assert that in Hezekiah's time, the south-west hill was included in the walls of Jerusalem. Paton thinks for several reasons that there were settlements on the western hill as early as the time of David but he says there is no proof that at this time the western hill was inclosed with a wall. He strongly maintains, however, that Solomon's wall included the western hill crossing the Tyropœon near where the present south wall crosses that valley.

CHAPTER III

Jerusalem Continued

Another question which is of primary importance, in understanding the topography of Jerusalem, is the course of her ancient walls, and, although much labor and money have been spent in trying to solve that problem, there still remains much uncertainty as to the matter. The southern wall, it is true, has been definitely located. Bliss has actually traced what is thought to be Hezekiah's wall from the Protestant cemetery, near Bishop Gobat's school, south of the south-west corner of the city, in an easterly direction, across the southern end of the western hill—the Jewish cemetery excepted—to a point almost due south of the Pool of Siloam, where a sharp angle is formed.* Thence he followed it, in a north-easterly direction, across the Tyropœon and up the edge of the Kedron valley, to a point on the southern end of Ophel, south-east of the Pool of Siloam, whence he believes it originally continued, including some of the portions of wall discovered by

*There are also along that line remnants of what Bliss admits were later walls.

Guthe on the eastern side of the eastern hill, as well as the wall discovered by Warren.* If this is Hezekiah's wall, of which there seems to be but little doubt, then the fact is established, that the Pool of Siloam was at that particular time at least, inside the city.† Smith says the fact that Hezekiah brought the waters of the Virgin's Spring through the tunnel into the Pool of Siloam is strong evidence that this wall was there in his time, for if the south-west hill was then outside the city, an enemy on it could have commanded the location of the pool at the mouth of the Tyropœon.

The northern walls are by no means so definitely located. The first of these is said to have run from a tower named Hippicus, near the present Jaffa Gate, on the western side of the city, in an easterly direction to the western cloister of the Temple. Traces of the causeway on which it crossed the Tyropœon are still to be seen at

*This wall is 70 ft. high, and was traced by Warren 776 feet toward the south from the south-east corner of the Haram.

†Conder contends, however, that this wall dates only from the time of Eudocia, 450 A. D., and says that the discovery of any very ancient wall by Bliss is doubtful. Also, that Guthe's wall dates only from Byzantine or Crusading times. Merrill, too, thinks no such wall existed. The south-west hill he reminds us, is very steep, dropping 400 ft. in 1200, and he thinks the testimony of Josephus contradicts the claims of Bliss. He says the ancient southern wall began at Bishop Gobat's school and ran in an easterly and a north-easterly direction, following the brow of the hill, 350 or 400 yards above Siloam to a place on Ophel not far from the Temple. Paton agrees that the wall which Bliss traced was Hezekiah's wall as far as the southern end of the western hill, but he thinks that which ran from there to the southern end of the eastern hill was a part of Eudocia's wall.

Wilson's Arch on the western side of the Haram.

The third wall, which was known as "Agrippa's Wall" and is also spoken of as the first wall of Titus, extended according to some writers, much farther to the north including the new town which had grown up outside the former walls. Smith thinks it did not run so far north, but most probably followed somewhat the line of the present north wall of the city. But all agree that it began, as did the first wall, near the Jaffa Gate and ended on the east, as the present wall, near the Kedron.

As to the location of the second wall, there is still great difference of opinion, because, on the location of that wall depends the further question as to whether the Church of the Holy Sepulchre can possibly mark the place of the Crucifixion. If the second wall included that church, that, of course, makes it impossible for the church to mark the location of Calvary, while if it left the church outside the city, then it might, so far as this one point is concerned, have been the place. John 19 : 17.

Three theories trace that wall in the vicinity of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from the Jaffa Gate to the old Tower of Antonia at the northwest corner of the Haram. By two of these theories, the church is left outside the city and by one it is included. A fourth theory locates it further to the north, along the line of the present north wall. Paton believes that the ruins under the Grand New Hotel, near the Jaffa Gate, and those

in the cellar of the Franciscan School in the northwest corner of the city, as well as the top of an ancient arch which appears in the foundations of the Damascus Gate, on the north side of the city, and other remains along the present north wall all belong to the second wall which was built originally by Manasseh and was rebuilt by Nehemiah.

The exact location, however, of the second wall, so far remains entirely unsettled and we shall be forced to wait for further light. Smith says, "After twenty-seven years' study of the evidence, I am unable to feel that a conclusion one way or the other is yet possible or perhaps ever will be possible." "We do not know whether it ran inside or outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre." And Wilson says the only safe conclusion seems to be that no certain trace of the second wall has yet been found.

A kindred question is the location of Calvary. The traditional view, held by the Greeks, the Romanists, the Armenians, the Copts and the Syrians, places it in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the ruins now to be seen inside the Russian Church near by, it is claimed substantiate that view, for it is thought by some scholars that those ruins are part of the second wall, which would, of course, place the church outside the city. The greater number of archæologists, however, reject this site, some even going so far as to say there is not a particle of proof in its favor. But, although agreeing to reject the traditional view, they do not agree on any

SKULL HILL

Courtesy Palestine Exploration Fund

other location.* Of the many places advocated by various writers, the so-called Gordon's Calvary has the greatest number of supporters. This skull-like knoll, with its eyeless sockets and darkly shaded forehead, rising to a height of about 60 feet, lying outside the present northern wall, not far from the Damascus Gate, although it can not claim very strong evidence, still seems at present to fit the conditions most admirably. One can not but be impressed with the fact that this place commends itself as the identical spot where was uttered by our Lord,

"That agonizing cry affrighted nature
shook to hear",

if he will only read the passages referring thereto, as he stands upon the hill itself, with the city in plain view to the south, with the Jericho road between the hill and the city, with the Damascus road on the west, with the road which runs northwest from Herod's Gate on the east, and still another road on the north. At any rate, this hill is clearly outside the city limits, for it is pretty generally agreed, Smith excepted, that the second wall was located about where the northern wall stands to-day, between the Damascus Gate and the north-west corner of the city.

The late Sir Charles Wilson, in his posthumous volume, "Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre," has discussed this question most thoroughly and

*Birch believes that it was somewhere on the eastern ridge, but inside the present wall and Macalister says, "The true site of the Holy Sepulchre is lost and forgotten and there is no reason to hope that it will ever be discovered."

his book is a perfect treasure-house of information on the subject. He argues that the traditional view which places these spots in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre compels one to assume three things; viz., that they were objects of reverence from the Resurrection to the time of Constantine, that the tradition as to their location was continuous through that entire period and that the ground now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was outside the second wall.

As to the second of these questions, he says there is nothing in the history of Jerusalem to force us to believe that it would have been impossible for the early Christians to have kept alive such a tradition if they had had any desire to do so, but as to the first he says there is not "the faintest shadow of a hint that the early Christians held the places of the Crucifixion and the Burial in any special honour, that they offered prayers to God at them or that they even knew where they were situated;" and as to the third, he agrees with others that it can not be said with any degree of certainty that the second wall included or excluded the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Neither topography nor archæology has as yet answered that question. He, therefore, concludes that "there is no decisive reason historical, traditional or topographical, for placing Golgotha and the Tomb where they are now shown." And yet, he adds "there is no direct evidence that they were not so situated."

He enumerates the various places, north,

south, east and west of the city, where Golgotha has been located by different writers, chief of which is the so-called skull-hill north of the present north wall and known as Gordon's Calvary. As against this place, however, he avers that the Bible gives us no reason for believing that Christ was crucified on a hill at all, for to be visible near Jerusalem would not necessarily require an elevation. Also he says that the present resemblance of that hill to a skull is due to cuttings made after our Lord had been crucified and that the tomb known as Gordon's Tomb is not such a tomb as a man of the rank of Joseph of Arimathea would have hewn out for himself.*

Wilson, therefore, not only thinks that we have not definitely located these sites but he also agrees with Robinson that "probably all search for them will be in vain."

One of the most interesting finds that has been unearthed in the vicinity of Jerusalem, is the Siloam inscription. This is true, not only because of the unusual way in which it was discovered, but also because of that to which the inscription led. The story, which this stone narrates, is the digging of a tunnel, through the rock by two gangs of men who began at the opposite ends and worked toward each other until they finally met. Explorations were immediately made and, sure enough, there was the tunnel, a rock-hewn aqueduct, cut through Ophel from Gihon or the

*Conder believes that this hill marks the true site of Calvary, but he is sure that the "Garden Tomb" is not the place where our Lord was buried.

Virgin's Fountain to the Pool of Siloam and doubtless the very channel made by Hezekiah, 2 Chron. 32 : 3f and 30, and 2 Kings 20 : 20.

Still another find, and perhaps of equal interest, is the warning stone, now to be seen in the museum at Constantinople. In the ancient Temple, the line that separated the court of the Gentiles from that part where only Jews could go, was marked by a low wall, upon which at intervals, according to Josephus, were to be seen stone slabs, on each of which had been inscribed the notice that no Gentile would be allowed to pass that line, under penalty of death. This particular stone has the inscription, "Let no Gentile enter inside of the barrier and the fence around the sanctuary. Any one trespassing will bring death upon himself, as a penalty." It was this injunction which Paul was accused of having violated, when the Jews from Asia stirred up a mob against him in the Temple. Acts 21 : 28.

While many other discoveries, of more or less importance, have been made in and around the Holy City, these are the ones of chiefest interest. One thing that has been sought for many years, but which so far has not been found, is the tomb of David. As is well known, the rock-cut aqueduct from Gihon to Siloam is a very tortuous affair. In 1887, Clermont-Ganneau suggested that one of its curves was probably made to avoid the vault which contained the tomb of David. Dr. Bliss, in an attempt to follow the suggestion, cleared a spot on Ophel, 44 feet by

100 feet, to the natural rock, with the hope of finding this tomb for which the world of controversialists has been looking so long. Much to his disappointment, however, he was unsuccessful, though it must be admitted, that by some mistake he dug, not where the French scholar suggested, but on the opposite side of the channel. After the mistake was discovered, there was not time before the expiration of the firman, to make further search. It is now suggested that with a new firman and a few thousand francs, there is well-grounded hope that the tombs of David and Solomon may yet be found, with perhaps the Hebrew inscriptions which were likely engraved at the time of their burial. What a thrill such a find would give to the world of religious and scholarly thought!

CHAPTER IV

Early Work in the Shephelah

Leaving Jerusalem for other parts of Palestine, we find that considerable work has been done at different places in the hill country known as the Shephelah between the central mountain range of Judea and the Mediterranean. At various points throughout Palestine, large artificial mounds may be seen, sometimes on a level plain, but more often on top of some hill. These mounds are technically known as tells, and are simply the accumulation of debris and rubbish from ancient but now ruined cities. When a city was taken by some foe, and destroyed, the buildings which were of rude stones and mud would naturally be thrown down or allowed to fall. Besides, the houses, being very unstable, were apt to tumble down of their own accord at almost any time, for when the mud-mortar was washed out of the crevices by the rains of winter, nothing was left to prevent a collapse. This mud would gradually raise the level of the streets as would also the refuse which was always flung into the little winding roads where it was allowed to lie and decay.

From all these causes, the debris would naturally increase in depth from year to year and from age to age until at Gezer, for instance, it was in some places forty feet deep and at Tell el-Hesy it was sixty-five.

In case a city was destroyed, if the site happened to be a place which could easily be fortified as the top of some hill, it would be perfectly natural for another city to be built on the ruins of the former one. But the ruins of the former were not cleared away before the buildings of the second were erected. Instead, the second city was built literally on top of the ruins of the city that preceded. If the second city should likewise in course of time be destroyed by earthquake or foe, and a third city be built, the process would be repeated and so for every succeeding city. Thus from century to century as different peoples came and went and as different cities were built on top of each other, the mounds grew higher and higher and the debris grew deeper and deeper. As a result, in some places as many as ten different layers, representing ten or more different cities have been unearthed.

The excavator, by sinking a shaft or cutting a trench down through all these strata to the native soil or solid rock, is able to read to some extent, from what is there found, especially from the different kinds of pottery, the history of the people who formerly lived on that spot.* The

*Kyle believes that the present tendency is to attach too much importance to the evidence derived from pottery.

TRENCH ACROSS THE WESTERN END OF GEZER

Courtesy Palestine Exploration Fund

actual digging is done, of course, by men, but many women and children are used to bear away the dirt in small baskets on their heads. Every shovelful of dirt is carefully scrutinized and sometimes it is even sifted to be sure that no treasure escapes detection, so that often small objects, as well as the great buildings and enormous walls, have come to light.

Before Bliss began at Jerusalem, Petrie in 1890, was sent by the Palestine Exploration Fund from Egypt to Palestine to search for the situation of Lachish. This he located at Tell el-Hesy, about thirty miles south-west of Jerusalem and fourteen miles from the sea. Although neither great buildings nor important inscriptions were found, he did find in the layers of debris a continuous history of this ancient city, for a period of about 1200 years and dating from about 1650 B.C. Here it was that he was able to demonstrate that the depth of the debris increased, at an average rate of about 5 ft. per century, and here he found four distinct types of broken pottery which are designated as Pre-Israelite, Phœnician, Jewish and Greek. Bliss later discovered that there had been eight or more separate and successive occupations of that site, dating from 1700 B. C. to about 400 B. C. *

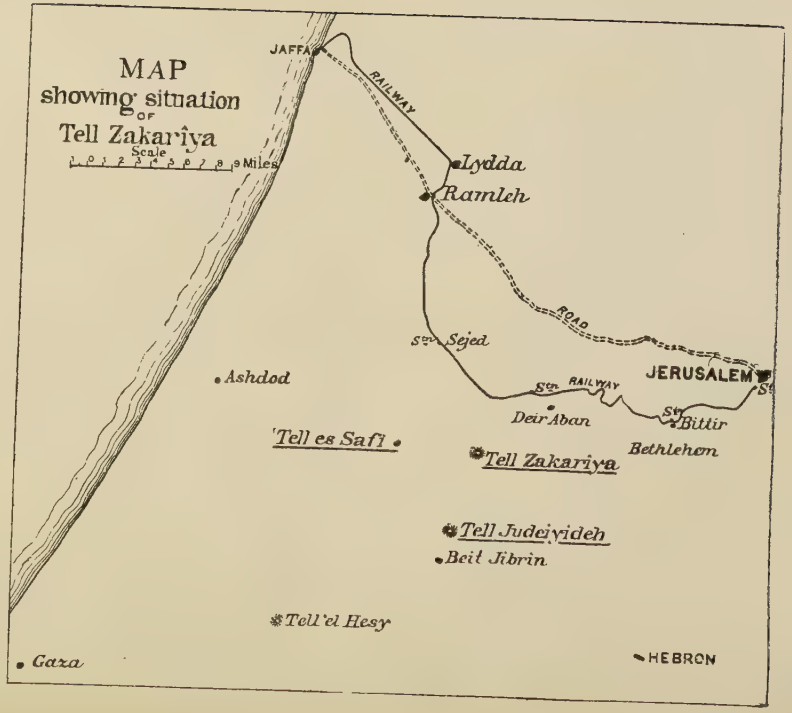
A little more than a year after Bliss closed his work at Jerusalem, he too, assisted by Mr. R.

* It is interesting to remember that Lachish was one of the fortified cities of Judah, which Sennecharib took and in the British Museum may be seen a bas-relief showing that king receiving Jewish captives and with the inscription "Sennecharib King of Multitudes King of Assyria seats himself upon a lofty throne and receives the spoil of the city of Lachish."

A. Stewart Macalister, began work in the Shephelah, under a new permit bearing the date of Oct. 1, 1898, and good for two years. Explorations were made under this firman at Tell Zakariya, Tell es-Safi, Tell ej-Judaida and Tell Sandahanna, about fifteen or twenty miles south-west of Jerusalem, and less than that distance north-east of Tell el-Hesy.

The first of these tells is a hill 350 ft. high, and on the top it measures about 400 ft. by 1000 ft. At the south-east corner of the hill were found the ruins of the ancient citadel, an irregularly shaped fortress 220 ft. on the west side and 120 ft. on the north, with six towers, one at each angle of the trapezium, and an extra one somewhat near the middle of each of the northern and western sides. This hill is thought, from the nature of the debris, and from its location, to be Azekah, another of the strongholds built by Rehoboam, when he fortified his territory against Jeroboam and his followers in the north, 2 Chron. 11 : 9. It was later taken by Shishak, King of Egypt, as we learn from 2 Chron. 12 : 4 and also from Shishak's own record, inscribed on the outside of the southern wall of the great Temple of Ammon at Karnak.* The spade has turned up evidence of four separate occupations of this hill. It was founded in pre-Israelite times, and therefore, it was inhabited when Joshua came into Canaan. It was fortified during the Jewish period and was later occupied, for

* It was also one of the places besieged by Nebuchadnezzar Jer. 34 : 7.


MAP
showing situation
OF
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RAILWAY
Deir Aban
Bittir
Bethlehem
Ashdod
Tell es Safi
Tell Zakariya
Tell Judeiyideh
Beit Jibrin
Tell 'el Hesy
Gaza
HEBRON

TELL ZAKARIYA

Courtesy Palestine Exploration Fund

a short time, by the Romans. These facts themselves made a good return for the labor and money invested. Further than this, however, not much of importance was found. It is true that "many specimens and varieties of pottery and implements," made of "stone, bone, iron, bronze, glass, brick and clay" were found, as well as a number of pit-ovens, such as are in use to-day, and cisterns, serving "the double purpose of keeping a supply of fresh water and of storing corn safely underground," in one of which "grains of barley were actually found adhering to the sides;" but no tablets and no writing of any sort except that on jar handles came to light. The most valuable of these was one on which were inscribed, inside a cartouche, two lines of Phœnician characters which Hilprecht reads "To the King, Hebron," that is, he says, it was an offering to the king, and it was manufactured perhaps at Hebron. Other scholars read it "Of the King" and among various conjectures as to the meaning of that phrase they suggest that they were made by the potters of the King. *

* In all, 61 of these jar-handles with similar inscriptions were found at the 4 tells now under consideration. On each there is the same upper line "To the King" or "Of the King". Twenty-five have no place named below, while the other 36 have 4 different names. Eight have Hebron, 6 have Ziph, 15 have Shocoh and 7 have Mamshith. This, Bliss thinks, shows that these were manufactured at 4 different royal factories, in the 4 named towns, and that the designs between the two lines of each inscription are but different marks or seals of the various kings; but the native foreman suggested that the jars were measures varying locally and that the stamp was the official royal recognition of the local measure. They seem to belong to the period from 650 to 500 B. C., but beyond this it is hazardous to dogmatize at present.

Work was next begun at Tell es-Safi, about five miles west of the first hill. From the fact that two grave-yards, a *wely* or sacred place, and a modern village are to be found on the hill, all of which are exempt from disturbance, the work of excavation was necessarily confined to small portions of the tell. Three upright monoliths, however, were found which it is thought were used as objects of veneration or worship before the temple was built, remains of which were found near by. It is also worthy of remark that two pre-Israelite strata were found, one of them older than the oldest at Zakariya. It has, besides, a stratum of the Jewish period and one even as late as Crusading times. Its history, therefore, was traced for a much longer period than that of Zakariya, for it began earlier and ran to a much later date. The city was as ancient as was Gath. It was where Gath is thought to have been. It was fortified at about the time that Gath was made a city of defence, and it probably was that celebrated old Philistine city, Gath itself, a fact, however, yet to be definitely established. The old walls were 12 ft. thick and in places they are preserved to a height of 33 ft.

Further work was done during 1899 and 1900 at Tell ej-Judaida and at Tell Sandahanna. The work at the former was not prosecuted far enough to identify its name, but the latter is thought by Bliss to mark the location of Mareshah, Josh. 15 : 44.

It may be said, however, that at Judaida the

old city walls which were 10 ft. thick were traced, and were found to have four gate-ways and twenty-four towers projecting inward. "The eight towers flanking the four gate-ways were probably all hollow, but the remaining sixteen were mere buttresses of solid masonry." Of the sixty-one jar-handles found in all four of these tells, thirty-seven were found here, thirteen more than from the other three combined.

At Sandahanna two towns were discovered, one above the other. The older or lower dates from at least 800 B. C., and the upper is from the Seleucidan period. Inside the wall and near the eastern gate of the city were found the remains of a large building, which Bliss thinks formed part of the fortification of the city, but which Hilprecht believes was "the house of judgment," where the judges used to "sit". Cf. 2 Sam. 15 : 2-5, etc. In proof of his view, he cites the sixteen male and female lead figures found there, with hands or arms tied and which probably represent prisoners. But more interesting is the fact that here, fifty inscribed tablets were found. While these may not possess much value in themselves, they may be an indication of what is yet to be unearthed, at other places in Palestine.

TELL GEZER

Courtesy Records of the Past Exploration Society

CHAPTER V

Gezer

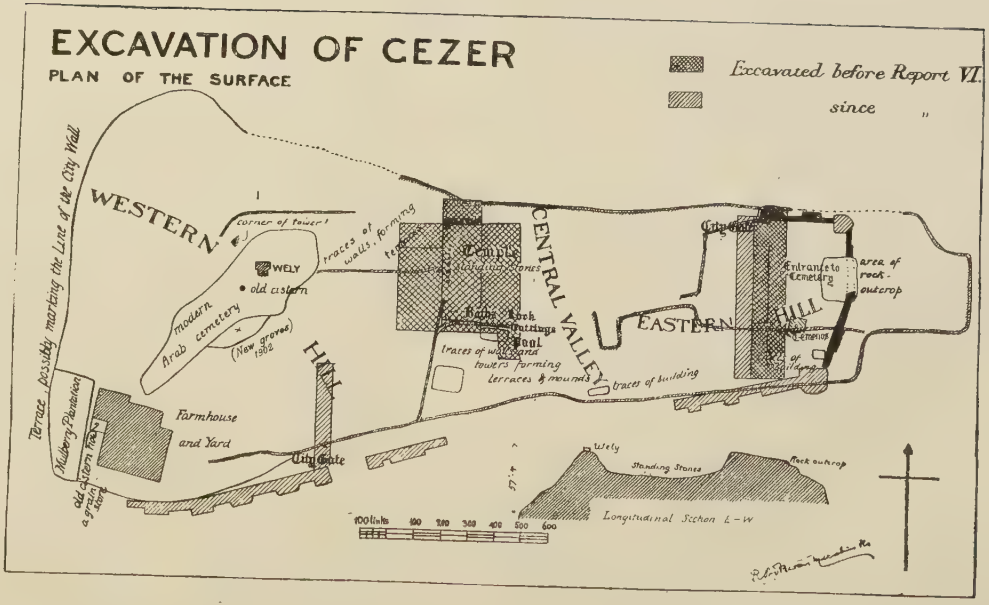
The place, however, which, of all that have been investigated outside of Jerusalem, has given the greatest results, is Gezer, where M. Clermont-Ganneau had already discovered a bi-lingual inscription in Hebrew and Greek, which defined the limits of the city. Work was begun here by the Palestine Exploration Fund, June 14, 1902, and it was pushed with vigor, under the personal direction of R. A. Stewart Macalister under three different firmans, until March, 1909.

This tell is situated about five miles southeast of the modern town of Ramleh, not far from the road that leads from Jaffa to Jerusalem in the edge of the fertile maritime plain, and near the foothills of the Judean mountains. The mound itself is quite an elevation near the modern village Abu Shusheh and it stands out as the most prominent landmark in all that region, being distinctly visible for miles up and down the plain. It is a place which was easily fortified, the hill being steep, and because of its height, the approach of an enemy could be seen while it was yet far away.

The rocky hillsides to the south and west, and the fertile fields to the north and west, furnished opportunity for hunting, grazing, and farming, "the three primitive modes of livelihood." We are not surprised, therefore, to find that Gezer was inhabited by a primitive race, perhaps five thousand years ago.

Because of the further fact that the great coast-line trade route from Egypt to Babylon passed near, it was certainly a place of great importance. One can easily see, therefore, that Gezer played a very prominent part in the early history of that region. Indeed, it was one of the strongholds of that land at the time that the Children of Israel were led across the Jordan, and as Jerusalem, Gezer held out for a long time against the invaders.

After the primitive cave-dwelling race had lived there for perhaps five hundred years, they were succeeded by a stronger and more civilized people and at about the same time, Egypt began to make herself felt at Gezer. The earliest written reference to the city as yet found is an inscription on the wall of the Temple at Karnak which says that Thothmes III had captured Gezer together with certain other cities. From letters in the celebrated Tell el-Amarna correspondence it is learned that at about 1450 B. C., Gezer, although she had a king of her own, was under the suzerainty of the Pharaoh of Egypt. Indeed, three of those letters were written by this king himself, Yapakhi, and are a request for help against hostile and nomadic


EXCAVATION OF CEZER
PLAN OF THE SURFACE
Excavated before Report VI.
since "
WESTERN
HILL
CENTRAL VALLEY
EASTERN
HILL
corner of tower
traces of walls, forming terraces
WELY
old cistern
modern Arab cemetery
(New graves) 1902
Farmhouse and Yard
City Gate
Terrace, possibly marking the Line of the City Wall
Mulberry Plantation
old cistern
a grain store
Temple
Standing Stones
Baths
Lock
Cuttings
Pool
traces of walls and towers forming terraces & mounds
traces of building
City Gate
Entrance to Cemetery
area of rock-outcrop
Cemetery
of building
Wely
Standing Stones
Rock outcrop
Longitudinal Section L-W
100 Links
100
200
300
400
500
600

tribes that were a menace to him. How interesting it would have been if the replies to these letters had been found at Gezer. We learn from the Scriptures that this ancient city, even in David's time, remained in the hands of the Philistines, 2 Sam. 5 : 25, although at an early date it was subject to Joshua. * Finally, however, Pharaoh took Gezer and, having burnt it, gave it to his daughter, one of the wives of Solomon, whereupon Solomon rebuilt the city, 1 Kings 9 : 16f. From this time on, for many centuries, even down through the Maccabean period, and, indeed, to the time of the Crusades, when Saladin conducted "futile negotiations with Richard Cœur-de-Lion," this has been a place of great historic interest. And as late as 1495 A. D. its existence is shown by its connection with an encounter which the governor of Jerusalem had with a predatory tribe of Bedouins. Its importance, however, lies not in the fact that, as a city, it remained to so late a date, but rather in the opposite fact that it was already in existence so long before the occupation of Palestine by the Israelites. For these reasons, the work at Gezer was pushed with the highest of hopes and the greatest of expectations and not without great reward. As Masterman has written "Where else do we know of a site, about which have surged the currents of civilization for four

* While it is true that Gezer was allotted by Joshua to the Levites, Josh. 21 : 21, it must be remembered that, as at Jerusalem, the original inhabitants were allowed to remain. "Ephrahim drave not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer, but the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among them." Judges 1 : 29. Cf. Josh. 16 : 10.

millenniums, associated with Amorites and pre-Amorites, with David and the Philistines, with Solomon and a Pharaoh, with Alexander and the Maccabees, with Saladin and Cœur-de-Lion, and one may add, with Napoleon and Abrahim Pasha, both of whom in modern times passed beneath its slopes?"

As a result, Mr. Macalister found the remains of eight different periods of occupation, dating from the times of the pre-Semitic cave-dwellers of the dim and misty past, to the days of the Maccabean and Christian periods. The two lowest of these eight strata, were inhabited by an aboriginal non-Semitic race, a race of small stature and belonging to the Neolithic age. Then came a wave of Semitic people who lived there during the times of the third and fourth strata, whereas the fifth and sixth date from the time of the Israelites themselves. The fifth stratum is the one which contains the remains of the city which Pharaoh destroyed. To say nothing of the thousands of "jars, beads, flint-knives and arrow-heads, lamps, images," etc., it has been discovered that the inhabitants of the first occupation cremated their dead, the remains of more than one hundred bodies having been found in one burial cave, and that those who followed "took part in a degrading worship of the reproductive power of nature", the symbols of which worship are great upright stones, still standing, and to be seen by all who visit this interesting spot. Great walls from three different periods, one of them at least, strength-

ened by mighty towers, have also been unearthed. One of these towers measures 24 by 31 ft. In one cistern the remains of fifteen bodies were found. Fourteen of these were skeletons of men, of various ages, the other being that of a young girl. Her body had been sawn in two and the lower half was not to be found. What this means no one knows. It might have been a sacrifice or a cannibalistic feast or any one of many other things. Mr. Macalister thinks it probable that the fourteen persons perished, perhaps as a result of some accident or other calamity, and that the girl was sacrificed as an extraordinary propitiation. At a later time and in another place the remains of the upper half of the body of a boy were found which seems to indicate that there was some ritual purpose in the severing of these bodies.

Mr. Allen Walker, the District Governor of Davao in the Moro Land gives in an official report an account of what seems to be a similar sacrifice of a boy which recently occured in the Philippines. After the boy was killed, one half of his body was buried but the other half was chopped up into small bits and given to the people present as souvenirs of the occasion. A native Ansig who had a prominent part in this sacrifice and who was about sixty years old said that during his life he had officiated at or attended perhaps fifty human sacrifices.

Those who took part in this sacrifice, it is said, seemed to have no consciousness of wrong-doing. Agnes Smith Lewis of Cambridge says in *The*

London Times that this "curious and inhuman rite" solves the mystery of the finds at Gezer, and steps having been taken to stop such sacrifices, she adds "Our American cousins are following in the steps of the Israelites when they suppress it."

J. Y. W. Macalister suggests that these curious finds may point to the fact that here something occurred which was similar to that described in Judges 19 : 29.

The most important discovery of all perhaps, is that of a great high place or temple of worship, belonging to the third stratum. * Eight great stone pillars, ranging in height from 5 ft. 5 in. to 10 ft. 6 in., have been found, seven of them being in a fairly regular gentle curve. The stumps of two others are also to be seen, making ten in all. These stones are evidently the Mazzebahs or "Standing-stones" or "pillars" of the Old Testament. Cf. Ex. 23 : 24, Deut. 12 : 3, 2 Kings 17 : 10, etc. Likewise a stone socket was found which at one time it was thought may have been that in which the Asherah or wooden pillar stood.† Such pillars and Asherim are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament. Cf. Deut. 12 : 3 and Ex. 14 : 13.

One of the most common of all the objects found at Gezer and at practically all the mounds

* Macalister calls this "the most complete and extensive place of early Semitic worship yet unearthed on Palestinian soil."

† That socket, however, was cut in the top of a large square stone and may have been only a laver for the purposes of ablution in connection with their worship. It is larger than a socket would probably have been.

HIGH PLACE AT GEZER

Courtesy Records of the Past Exploration Society

THE LAVER

Courtesy Palestine Exploration Fund

that have been excavated is a terra-cotta or sometimes a bronze representation of the nude figure of the goddess Astart. This would seem to show that she was the principal deity worshiped by the Canaanites. Prof. Paton in a recent informing article in *The Biblical World* (July 1910) says that Astart, the Ashtaroth of the Old Testament was the "goddess of untrammeled sexual love", "of maternity and fertility", and that "she was worshiped at open-air sanctuaries known as 'high places' ". The high place at Gezer was doubtless one of the most important of all the sanctuaries where this goddess was worshiped. The small cone-shaped second stone, in the row of eight, he thinks, was an emblem of the mother-goddess representing the female breast, and the other seven taller stones were the pillars or the phallic emblems of "subordinate male divinities who were the consorts of the polyandrous" goddess. The so-called "cup-marks" which are inverted cone-shaped depressions in the rock and which are so plentiful, here and elsewhere, he also believes, are symbols of the same mother-goddess, and probably, "the feminine counterpart of the standing stones". What awful licentiousness is therefore depicted in connection with the worship of these early Canaanites! No wonder the prophets of old thundered their denunciations against them and warned the Lord's people of their awful sin! At last, however, the goddess and her cult were banished and this "victory over her cruel and obscene rites stands forth in history as one of the grand-

est achievements of the religion of redemption."

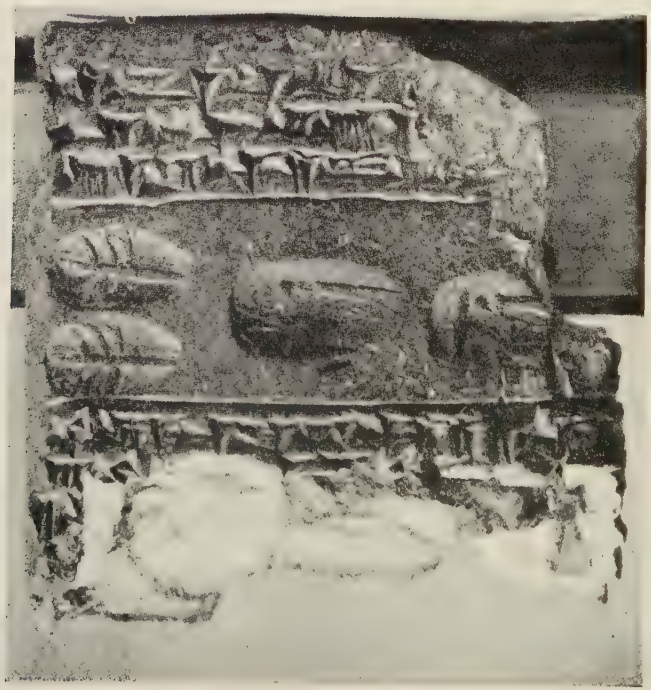
There is also a great cave thought to have been used in some way in their worship, and near the pillars and under the floor of the temple area, were found "a number of jars, each one containing the skeleton remains of a newly born infant." It is supposed that this is but a trace of their custom of sacrificing the first-born child, a custom which the Amorites followed for a thousand years, and which was prohibited by the laws of Israel, Lev. 18:21, 20:20. This law, however, was disregarded by Ahaz, 2 Ki. 16:3, and Manasseh, 2 Ki. 21:6, and the custom was not effectually stopped until the days of Josiah, 2 Ki. 23:10. A fragment of an Egyptian statue, with hieroglyphics inscribed on its base, has been discovered and in the debris of the fifth stratum were found, "the bones of infants which were built under or into ordinary house walls." The remains of one aged woman, a useless member of the community because her whole right side had been seriously affected by rheumatism, was found in one corner of the foundation of one building and a man who had lost his left hand was found in another.

This seems to show that they sacrificed human beings, usually infants, in connection with certain foundation rites, as was also true in many other places. * Among other important finds,

* Remains of such sacrifices as well as other infant sacrifices have recently been found by Dr. Sellin at Taanach, and by Dr. Schumacher at Megiddo, and this, it is believed, is proof from archæological work of the truth of the statement of the rebuilding of Jericho as given in 1 Ki. 16:34. Cf. Josh. 6:26.

JAR CONTAINING INFANT'S BONES

Courtesy Palestine Exploration Fund



ASSYRIAN CONTRACT TABLET

Courtesy Palestine Exploration Fund

may be mentioned several scarabs, from the Hyksos period, and one large one of Amenophis III. A granary containing six hundred baskets of charred corn—nearly a ton—was also found, and, in a tomb, a signet ring of bronze, on which was engraved the head of our Lord, dating, it is thought, from the early part of the fourth century of the Christian Era. Another of the chief things found is a cuneiform tablet. It came from a late stratum, contemporaneous with the early Hebrew monarchy, and although the name of Gezer is not mentioned in the inscription, and although it is manifestly Assyrian, in several particulars, and although its presence at Gezer is unaccounted for, still it is of very great interest and importance. It was not known at first whether it was inscribed at Gezer, or at Nineveh, and, for some reason, brought to Gezer. Sayce went at one time so far as to suggest that possibly it was a fraud, palmed off by some astute workman on the ever alert director, a thing that would hardly seem possible to one who has seen Macalister at his work, on the spot, and who knows something from his own lips, of the methods which he adopts to prevent just that sort of thing.

Johns may have struck the proper answer to the question, in his suggestion that this is an evidence that Assyria had a western fortification, at Gezer. And Pinches, after pointing out that the name of the officer mentioned on the tablet is not the one for the actual year in which the tab-

let was inscribed but for the preceding year, says this seems to show that the tablet was not written in Nineveh else the correct name would have been given; and he adds that it is hard to understand this fact unless it was written in Gezer, so that on account of the great distance, the news of the election had not yet reached the scribe. The tablet gives the contract by which an estate, with houses and slaves, was transferred from one man to another. It also contains the names of several witnesses to the transaction. Later, a second and similar tablet came to light. It gives the name of the vendor, Nethaniah, a Hebrew, and the name of one of the witnesses is the same as that of one on the first tablet. It came from the same stratum as the first tablet and its date proves to be 647 B. C., "only two years later than the former fragment." This, it is thought, settles the question as to the genuineness of the other tablet for even Sayce writes "the discovery of the second broken tablet sets at rest all doubt as to the provenance of the first and encourages us to hope that more will be found." Both of these fragments are monuments which point to an Assyrian garrison at Gezer. Macalister says that both contracts were drawn up at Gezer and they give evidence of an Assyrian occupation of that stronghold in the time of Manasseh. This occupation he affirms was so predominant that both Egyptians and Hebrews adopted the language and the legal forms of Assyria.

FOUNDATIONS OF HOUSE SHOWING COLUMN BASES

Courtesy Palestine Exploration Fund

CHAPTER VI

Gezer Continued

Still another interesting and late discovery is what is regarded by the excavator as a palace built by Simon the Maccabee. An account of the siege and conquest of the city by this man is graphically given in 1 Macc. 13. For many reasons, one of which is the finding of an imprecatory inscription calling down destruction upon Simon himself, this is thought to be the very palace occupied by this intrepid Maccabean leader * The castle is a mammoth affair and there is a large courtyard just inside the gateway. There are numbers of chambers, the use of which is only a conjecture at present, as some of them have no openings and as nothing has been found within them to point to their purpose. A very interesting discovery is a large pillared portico in front of what is evidently a temple of some sort, judging by the "religious emblems found within its

* Because of the lack of comfort in tents during the rainy season Mr. Macalister cleared out and roofed over a part of this old palace and actually lived in it during the latter part of his labors there.

precincts." * There were found *in situ* four column-bases made from rude blocks of stone roughly flattened on the top. These bases it is believed were the supports for four wooden posts which bore up the beams of the roof. As this ruin was found in a stratum three hundred years older than the time of Samson, it may give a clue to the prevailing kind of architecture for the temples of that and successive generations. If the Temple of Dagon at Gaza was constructed in this way, it is easy to picture Samson in his work of great destruction. Macalister therefore imagines Samson performing his feats of strength in front of the portico while, in the portico and under the roof, were gathered the Philistine lords and their satellites and on the roof a great company of the common people. By and by, he supposes that Samson may have been allowed to rest for a few moments in the shade offered by the roof of the portico, and that while there he would be able with his great strength to slide off their stone bases two of the wooden pillars. That would precipitate the roof and all the people on the roof into the midst of those in the portico below. This, of course, is not set forth by the excavator as absolutely proven, but it must be admitted that it sounds very similar to the story as recorded in Judges 16 : 23-30.

Two caves from the days of the troglodytes

* The fact that a row of standing stones, perhaps another row of Mazzebahs, was later found near this old building leads the excavator to feel more certain than before that this was really a temple.

THE "ZODIAC" TABLET

Courtesy Records of the Past Exploration Society

ENTRANCE TO THE TUNNEL

Courtesy Records of the Past Exploration Society

were found among the first results of the work under the third firman. One of these caves at least was later adapted by the Semites as a burial place for their dead. About the same time, there was found a great Canaanite castle which Macalister calls "the most elaborate residence yet found in Gezer" and which he suggests may have been the residence of King Horam, Josh. 10 : 33. The walls of this old castle ranged from 3 ft. 3 in. to 9 ft. in thickness. Two tablets, thought by some to be zodiac tablets from the fact that they seem to contain representations of the sun and moon as well as some of the signs of the zodiac, were found in debris of the Tell el-Amarna period. Some scholars, however, think these tablets make no reference to the zodiac. A great cave 130 ft. under the present surface of the ground and 94 ft. 6 in. below the surface of the rock, reached by an immense tunnel which descends at a steep declivity and thought by some to surpass, even in religious interest, the greater part of the discoveries made heretofore in Palestine, is one of the great finds of the last firman. At the bottom of that tunnel and in the great cave is a fine spring of water and the tunnel was doubtless made to reach that spring. At any rate, this discovery shows that at about 2000 B. C. there lived here a people whose engineers were men of considerable ability and boldness, and who as a people were greatly removed from barbarism. It has been suggested that this tunnel may shed light on the topography of Jerusalem, showing the possibility, at any

rate, that some of the tunneling under Ophel may belong to the age of the Jebusites. If the Gezerites could build such a tunnel as the one now found, evidently the Jebusites could have constructed the tunnels of Ophel.

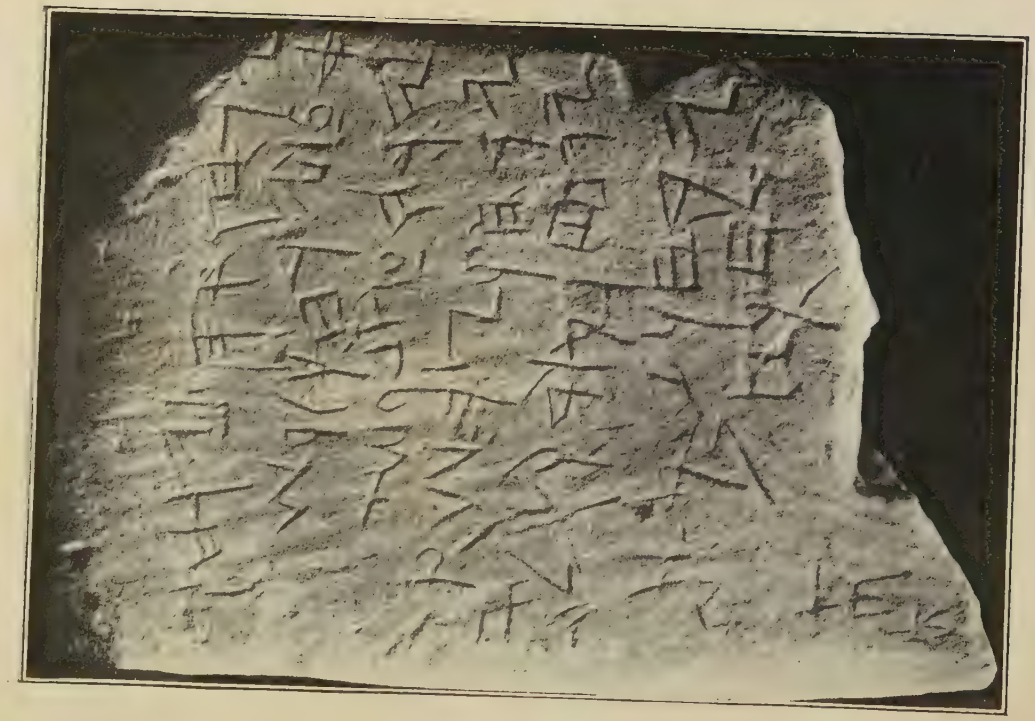
A building stone, with part of a hieroglyphic inscription upon it, was dug up in the latter part of the excavation. This indicates the presence, at Gezer, of a building, covered perhaps with Egyptian hieroglyphics, similar to those which may be seen in Egypt itself. This with two other Egyptian inscriptions which had already been found certainly shows Egyptian domination at Gezer. Various other tombs have been unearthed in some of which food animals had been interred with the dead, and in one, the hand of the person who was buried there was actually found in the vessel which doubtless had contained food of some sort.

A cave dating perhaps from about 3500 B. C. is extremely interesting from the fact that it has on the walls a number of rudely drawn pictures of animals. These pictures remind one of the drawings of a child in the kindergarten and are surely the oldest attempt at art yet brought to light in Palestine. It is thought that they go back to the date of neolithic man.

Remembering the well-known reference to a capture of Gezer made by Meren-Ptah, in an inscription found by Petrie at Thebes in 1896 and known as the Israel Stele, it is of importance that cartouches of Meren-Ptah himself, have been dug

THE SUBTERRANEAN CAVE

Courtesy Palestine Exploration Fund



HEBREW TABLET

Courtesy Records of the

up at Gezer. *

It is interesting to note that one of the most common objects found in the excavations is a rudely formed pottery model of a cow. This is probably an illustration of the same lack of the spiritual that was manifested when Aaron made his calf and when Jeroboam placed golden calves at Dan and Bethel.

A wedge or tongue of gold, just a few grains heavier than the one which Achan stole, was also found in a stratum near the time of Joshua, and when we think of the second and outer wall of Gezer, built about 1450 B. C., and know that it still stands, in its ruined condition, in places, from 10 to 14 ft. in height and 14 ft. thick, we are prepared to judge less harshly the spies who reported when they returned that "the cities are great and fenced up to heaven." Deut. 1 : 28.

A tablet with an inscription in Hebrew which is thought to be the most ancient monument of Hebrew writing known and which has already aroused the keenest interest is one of the latest finds. Some scholars think this tablet was an agricultural calendar, but others deny that it was a calendar at all. And in one of the last reports of the work which brings the account down to Feb. 10th, 1909, just four weeks before the end of the firman, Mr. Macalister tells of a building which had been destroyed by fire and which dated

* In that reference in a "grandiloquent description" of some of his successes, he says among other things "Ashkelon is carried away, Gezer is taken." He also makes in this inscription the earliest mention of Israel that is known at the present hour.

from the second Semitic period. This building he thinks, from an Egyptian statuette and other Egyptian objects found in its ruins, must have had an Egyptian occupant.

Many more pages might be written in giving simply a list of the interesting and sensational finds which have been unearthed at Gezer. But this is sufficient to picture, in lurid light, the awful sin of those early Canaanitish Gezerites, and to show good reason for the frequent and strenuous warning by the prophets of Israel against their heathen worship, which was a constant temptation to the Lord's chosen people. It is true that no letter from the Egyptian king was found but a great many things of inestimable value were unearthed. At the end of the original firman, which allowed work for two years, Macalister wrote, "On some subjects on which we had been hoping that it would offer testimony it has as yet remained silent, while in others it has given a fullness of information beyond what we have dreamed. It has now been proved that cuneiform tablets are to be found within it, though where they are, it is of course impossible to say till they actually come to light." With that feeling he entered upon the third year of his work and in that spirit he continued during the years of the second and third permits. When we remember that life on this mound has been traced back almost to 4000 B. C. and that the records of neolithic man have now come to light, we can understand something of the importance "of toil in

DEBRIS OF HOUSE CONTAINING EGYPTIAN STATUETTE

Courtesy Palestine Exploration Fund

tent and trench." We now realize fully for the first time what Israel had to contend against throughout all the centuries and we have proof from an outside source that what the Bible says about the Canaanites and their religion is absolutely and historically correct, and when the results of the work accomplished are fully classified and compared, we shall know more than ever before of the religion and the history and the culture of the peoples who occupied Palestine before Israel crossed the Jordan.

The final memoir treating of the work as a whole has not yet appeared. It is true that Mr. Macalister has given in his *"Bible Side-lights from the Mound of Gezer"* which he calls an "earnest of what is yet to appear," a splendid account of the important finds that were discovered as he worked under the first two permits. In this book he has shown in a most illuminating way the light which has been thrown upon the Bible in a number of instances by the work at Gezer. Such subjects as "The Iniquity of the Amorite", "The Golden Calf", "Achan's Spoil," "The Death of Samson," "The Rebuilding of Jericho,"and others of similar interest, are treated at length and one naturally awaits with great expectation the appearance of the volume which will take into account all the finds of the three firmans, and which will give as Mr. Macalister says a history of the city, an account of the physical character of its inhabitants, a description of its caves, cisterns, walls and houses, a study of the daily life, warfare and relig-

ion of its people, and a sketch of the "development of civilization in Palestine as revealed by excavations throughout the whole country in general and at Gezer in particular."

CHAPTER VII

Other Recent Work

In the preceding chapters the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund has been treated almost exclusively and yet only a glimpse has been given of the great work which that pioneer society has accomplished. To write in full upon the subject would require volumes—indeed, volumes have already been written for that very purpose. And yet even this is not all that has been done, for various other societies have been excavating in various other places, and, as a result, many things of great interest have been found at Taanach, Megiddo, Telhum, Samaria and Jericho. But great as have been the results, only a good beginning has been made of what ought to be done and of what we believe, will soon be done. Many other places ought to be excavated and many other tells ought to be opened. Some of these will no doubt prove richer by far in their aid to Biblical scholars, than anything that has as yet been worked. Samaria, for instance, with the splendid remains of that great colonnade which was a part of the magnificence of the city in the

days of Herod, offers it would seem, an especially fine opportunity for the spade of the excavator.

Indeed, a recent expedition under the direction of Dr. Schumacher of Haifa and Prof. Lyon of Harvard, has already been fruitful enough to justify further excavations. This work was made possible by a gift from Mr. Jacob H. Schiff of New York and is under the management of Harvard University. The actual digging was confined to nine weeks in three periods from April 24th to August 21st, 1908. The number of laborers varied from ten at one time to about four hundred at another. Several walls, some of them of enormous size and probably of Hebrew origin, an old temple, about two hundred clay lamps, a great stairway of sixteen steps whose width was originally 80 ft., a large platform which was probably as wide as the stairway which led to it, a stele with a Latin inscription, the torso of a statue of heroic size which Prof. Lyon suggests may be a statue of Augustus, a Roman altar, and a few other such things are about the sum total of the finds of Harvard's first year's work in Samaria. It is hoped, however, that the efforts of 1909 "may be rich in the finds of Hebrew origin" and, accordingly, the results of this work under the direction of Prof. Reisner and Mr. Fisher are now eagerly looked for.

Since the above was written Mr. Reisner has made an abridged preliminary report of the excavations of 1909 in which he says they "have revealed for the first time the plan and the mason-

ry of a royal Israelite palace." While no line of Hebrew inscription and no name of any king of Israel was found the excavator believes that he has abundant reason for saying that this splendid palace is none other than that built originally by Omri and afterwards enlarged by Ahab. 1 Kings 16 : 24 ; 16 : 32 ; 22 : 39. This building erected on the solid rock, on the very summit of the hill, contains "great open courts surrounded by small rooms" and is "certainly royal in size and architecture." In addition to this "a large bathing establishment with furnace, cold and hot baths and watercloset" and belonging to the Seleucid town which John Hyrcanus destroyed in 109 B. C., a great basilica connected by means of a wide door with a forum which was surrounded by a roofed colonnade, a strong wall 4000 meters long 10 meters high and 3.25 meters thick, a large hippodrome and a magnificent road of colonades all of which belonged to the Herodian city are among the most interesting of the finds reported. Nearest the surface of the present hill the excavator found the Roman city. Underneath that was the Greek city. Then came the Babylonian city and lowest of all on the solid rock the Israelite city. When we remember that he has a card catalogue of objects found containing 2027 cards we see something of what may be expected when the full report is published.

A question of peculiar interest to the Christian world is the location of Capernaum. For many centuries Tellhum, just north of the Sea of Galilee

was undisputedly pointed out to the traveler as the spot where "His own city" stood. But later, Khan Minyeh at the northwest corner of the lake, and in the edge of the plain of Gennesaret came forward as a rival claimant. So strong were its claims that for some years the question seemed practically settled and almost all who studied the question believed that Khan Minyeh was the place. In January, 1907, however, Mr. Macalister and Dr. Masterman visited Telhum for the purpose of applying the test of potsherds to the solution of the problem of the location of Capernaum. As a result of that expedition, the explorer says that the claims of Telhum "are triumphantly vindicated." He says that all the pottery which has been found at Khan Minyeh is of Arab origin and in the time of Capernaum there was no settlement there whatsoever. On the other hand the pottery at Telhum shows beyond question that the city whose ruins are plainly manifest to any observer did flourish at the period of the glory of Capernaum. In addition to this, the German Oriental Society has recently found an elaborate synagogue in the midst of these ruins. This synagogue which was 78 ft. by 59 ft. was built of beautiful white limestone a sort of "native marble" and was far more magnificent than any other synagogue yet found in Palestine. "For size and beauty of ornament" it is said this "synagogue stands supreme." He is therefore sure that Telhum marks the location of Capernaum.

Dr. Masterman who lived for some time at Safed not far away, and who was not only with Macalister at the time of his investigation but who has also made an exhaustive study of the question since that time, is equally convinced that Capernaum must be located at Telhum. He argues the question from the references which Josephus makes, from the early testimony of Christian pilgrims and from the ruins themselves. He thinks it not impossible that the large synagogue which has been unearthed is the very synagogue of which Jairus was ruler and in which our Lord rebuked the unclean spirit and healed on the Sabbath day the man with a withered hand but he believes that it is hardly probable that this is true. Still he adds "even if the greater part of the present structure belongs to a later time, it is likely that the site and some at least of the masonry go back to the time of Jesus." To clinch his argument, he asks if this was not Capernaum, what other large city existing in the time of Christ could it have been. The pendulum of opinion therefore as to the location of Capernaum seems now to have swung back to Telhum.

Samaria and Capernaum are only two examples of the many places which ought to be exhumed. Tells are to be seen in various parts of the land, notably in the region of Esdraelon. Some of these have already been excavated, but others perhaps are holding their secrets securely, until modern science shall bring them to light for the benefit of the student world of today. Dr.

Sellin has completed his work at Taanach where among other things a small library of cuneiform tablets was found. These tablets seem to show that not only was the Babylonian language used in communications sent to the Egyptian court but also in correspondence within Palestine itself. This is but further proof of the "long possession of the land by Babylon." Four periods of occupation were found here, the oldest dating from about 2000 B. C. The third and fourth are respectively Greek and Arabic.

At Megiddo, as at Gezer, there was unearthed a row of stone pillars on some of which Hebrew letters had been inscribed. An old wall with the enormous thickness of 28 ft. and a great gate from the 16th century or earlier and measuring 57 by 36 ft. are among the things of interest. Likewise mention must be made of three buildings. One of these Dr. Schumacher thinks dates from the time of Solomon. The second is of Canaanite origin and is seven strata deep, while the third is one stratum deeper and is called by the excavator the Egyptian building. Here too there came to light one of the most striking objects as yet found in all Palestine, a jasper seal bearing the name of Jeroboam himself. Another seal bears the name of Asaph.

At Jericho "already ancient when sacked by the victorious hosts of Israel" the German Oriental Society of Berlin under the direction of Prof. Sellin, Prof. Watzinger and Herr Langenegger has recently been excavating. The excavators

found an ancient city wall almost half a mile in length built in the form of a large oval and constructed of massive stones which gave it a "Cyclopœon strength." In general appearance and structure and with its rounded angles and sloping outer surface, it suggested a comparison with the walls found by Schliemann and identified as those of the "second city" of Troy. *The Builder* says that the men who erected this wall were "masters in stonework and masonry."

We may not be absolutely sure that this is the wall that fell at the blast of Joshua's trumpet, but it is certainly not far from the spot where that wall stood and is therefore of very great interest indeed. The only point, it is said, in which this wall is inferior to modern walls is in its lack of mortar although it belongs to the oldest known period of the history of Palestine.

They found also an old Canaanite citadel, protected by a double wall, one of the best specimens of the kind yet found. The interior of this citadel contained many small houses, one of which at least was in a good state of preservation, showing kitchen, sleeping-room, guest-chamber and other parts of a well-appointed home. Under the floor of some of these rooms were found the remains of children whose bodies had been buried in earthenware jars.

Of peculiar interest are the jar-handles found, some of which are stamped with the Divine name in Aramaic script, and some old Canaanite houses against the wall, call to mind the house of Rahab,

probably not very different from those now brought to light.

Many smaller objects of no very great importance and a number of unburnt clay tablets, on which unfortunately no writing had been inscribed, were also unearthed. Much of the pottery so far found was either Egyptian or influenced by Egyptian style.

Further excavations at Jericho will be watched with great interest for they promise important results.

The old synagogue at Chorazin has likewise been found and next to that at Telhum, it is the finest yet seen.

Bearing in mind all this and watching with keen anxiety for any new find which any one of the societies is liable to discover at any minute one is led to wonder what might not be found if only such places as Jericho, Samaria, Capernaum, and even Jerusalem herself should be fully and scientifically explored.

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusion

Perhaps a few words ought to be added, by way of summarizing some of the principal results thus far attained by Palestinian research.

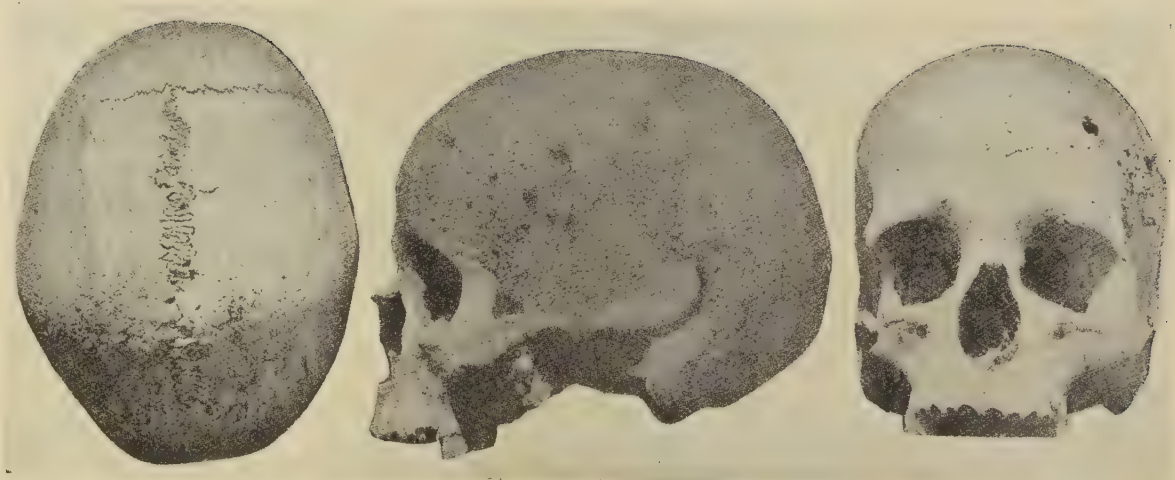
It is now definitely known that prior to the Canaanite occupation of Palestine there was, in Gezer at any rate, an aboriginal, cave-dwelling, non-Semitic race reaching back to the Neolithic Age.

It is also held that, during a part of the time when the Canaanite civilization was supreme, a strong Babylonian influence manifested itself in Palestine. It is strongly argued from the Tell el-Amarna tablets and from Assyrian letters, found at Taanach and at Lachish, that there were, indeed, centuries of Babylonian supremacy in Palestine. Luckenbill, however, seeks to refute this conclusion and argues that the recent and present excavations of the old Hittite capitol at Boghas-Koi show that the cuneiform writing of Babylonia came into Palestine, not directly from the Babylonians, but through the Hittites, who themselves received it from the Babylonians

through the Mitannians, and that the Babylonian influence in Palestine, therefore, was not so great as we have been led to believe. Further excavation in the Hittite country may throw further light upon this question.

Whether there was a Babylonian influence or not all are agreed that the Egyptian influence in Palestine was markedly strong. The evidence for this seems to grow very rapidly for, as the work has proceeded in various places, an abundance of Egyptian objects has been found, dating from 2500 B. C. to beyond the end of the Jewish monarchy. This does not surprise us at all but is what one would naturally expect when we remember the Biblical accounts of the close relationship that existed between the Children of Israel and the land of Egypt.

There is pretty general agreement among the excavators that the occupation of the cities of Palestine by Israel was not a cataclysmic affair but a gradual displacement of one civilization by a superior one. There seems to be, usually, no sudden end of Canaanite culture and no sudden beginning of Israelite civilization. On the other hand, the change from the old civilization to the new was effected without leaving much evidence of great disturbance. There is, however, one notable exception to this general rule. It is in the case of Jericho. Watzinger says that the Canaanite culture was found only in the strata prior to the destruction of Jericho at which time it "suddenly" ceases so that it is in no way connected with



SKULL FROM BURIAL CAVE AT GEZER

Courtesy Palestine Exploration Fund

anything that is found in later strata. Dr. Sellin calls attention to this exception to what had been thought to be the general rule and says that after the fall of Jericho the site was used for a time for horticultural or agricultural purposes. Furthermore, Kyle makes the point that the closing up of the great tunnel to the underground spring at Gezer, which occurred at the time of the Conquest, and which was so complete as to render it lost and forgotten, does mark a sudden interruption of the old culture; and he says that the enlargement of the populated area of the city, to such an extent that the people were crowded into the area of the old Temple itself, shows the coming in of the Israelites without the destruction of the Canaanites who, up to that time, were the sole occupants of the city. This too, as all know, is in exact accord with the statement of the Bible in regard to the taking of Gezer.

The treatment of their dead by the early inhabitants of Palestine is both interesting and instructive. The first inhabitants of Gezer and of other places, the pre-Semitic race, cremated their dead for one thousand or fifteen hundred years. Following this, and beginning about 2500 B. C., the Semitic people used the same caves for burial but not for cremation. One custom, however, was common to both the non-Semitic and the early Semitic people, and that was the custom of depositing, with the dead, vessels suitable for holding both food and drink. The meaning of this is evident when we remember that once, at

least, a skeleton was found whose hand was actually in one of the vessels which it is supposed had contained some article of food. Surely these people believed that their dead still lived.

Enough has doubtless been said already concerning the sacrifice of infants and concerning the sacred High Places at Gezer and elsewhere, but it ought to be remembered that the history of the conflict between the spiritual monotheism of Israel and the horrible idolatrous polytheism of Canaan is, as Kyle says, "as plainly written at Gezer in the gradual decline of the High Place and the giving way of the revolting sacrifice of children to the bowl and lamp deposits as it is in the inspired account of Joshua, Judges and Samuel."

When we remember that these are only some of the results which show some of the ways in which modern scientific research has sustained and is sustaining the Biblical narrative, and when we remember that much more might be mentioned, we have a right to hope that men of means may see to it that funds are furnished for the further prosecution of this work, and that at the earliest possible moment the splendid work now being done by the University of Chicago in the far-away East may be duplicated in every part of the Holy Land itself. The Palestine Exploration Fund and other societies are worthy of all honor for what they have done and are doing today, but America ought not to be content to allow all the labor and all the honor

A BURIAL CAVE AT GEZER

Courtesy Records of the Past Exploration Society

to be accredited to other nations. Let America be further aroused and do her part more than ever in this most worthy and wonderful work.

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